

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 IO-13 ADP-00 ACDA-19 CIAE-00 PM-07 INR-10 L-03

NEA-10 NSAE-00 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 USIA-15 TRSE-00

MBFR-03 SAJ-01 DODE-00 SS-15 NSC-10 H-03 RSR-01 /141 W

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R 311915Z AUG 73

FM USMISSION NATO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1381

INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS 3254

USMISSION GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L USNATO 4089

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, NATO

SUBJECT: CSCE-DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

GENEVA FOR USDEL CSCE

REF: USNATO 4055 (NOTAL)

1. SUMMARY: SENIOR POLADS AUGUST 31 DISCUSSION OF LATEST VERSION OF FRENCH DRAFT DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES WAS HIGHLIGHTED BY STRONG EXPRESSIONS OF DISAPPOINTMENT BY MOST DELS THAT FRENCH HAD FAILED TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT CHANGES PROPOSED BY OTHER ALLIES. FRENCH REP AGAIN HELD OUT POSSIBILITY THAT FRENCH WOULD AGREE TO SOME CHANGES, AND EXTREMELY NEGATIVE REACTION OF OTHER ALLIES MAY ENCOURAGE PARIS TO BE MORE FORTHCOMING. WE ESTIMATE THAT FURTHER DISCUSSION OF FRENCH TEXT IN EC-9 CONTEXT WILL BE OF PARTICULAR IMPORTANCE IN DETERMINING WHETHER FRENCH WILL MAKE CHANGES DESIRED BY ALLIES. END SUMMARY.

2. FRENCH REP OPENED DISCUSSION WITH RATHER DEFENSIVE PRESENTATION OF LATEST FRENCH DRAFT, WHICH HE ACKNOWLEDGED FAILED TO TAKE MOST ALLIED SUGGESTIONS INTO ACCOUNT. HOWEVER, HE DEFENDED FRENCH DRAFT AS "STRONG" DOCUMENT WHICH MADE ALL BASIC POINTS DESIRED BY WEST AND ARGUED THAT FAILURE OF ALLIES
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DURING PREVIOUS TWO YEARS TO REACH CONSENSUS ON DRAFT DECLARATION DEMONSTRATED THAT THIS WAS NEITHER POSSIBLE NOR DESIRABLE. FRENCH REP ALSO REITERATED ARGUMENT THAT FOLLOWING ESTABLISHMENT OF FRAMEWORK FOR SECOND STAGE IN MPT MAN-

DATES, NATIONAL DELEGATIONS COULD OPERATE WITH GREATER DEGREE OF FLEXIBILITY AND SAID PARIS WOULD NOT BE "SHOCKED" IF OTHER ALLIES PROPOSED CHANGES IN FRENCH DRAFT DURING GENEVA NEGOTIATIONS. HE CLOSED WITH STATEMENT THAT FRENCH TEXT WAS NOT "RIGID," THAT FURTHER CHANGES WERE NOT EXCLUDED, AND THAT FRENCH HAD NOT REACHED FIRM CONCLUSIONS ON RELATED TACTICAL QUESTIONS.

3. CANADIAN REP SET TONE FOR REMAINDER OF DISCUSSION WITH STRONG STATEMENT WHICH EXPRESSED HIS "SURPRISE, DISAPPOINTMENT AND CONCERN" OVER FRENCH FAILURE TO TAKE OVERWHELMING MAJORITY OF ALLIED COMMENTS INTO ACCOUNT. HE ARGUED STRONGLY IN FAVOR OF REACHING ALLIED CONSENSUS ON TEXT, WHICH HE SAID WAS BOTH POSSIBLE AND DESIRABLE.

4. WITH ITALIAN AND FRG REPS MAKING PARTICULARLY FORCEFUL STATEMENTS, ALL OTHER DELEGATIONS JOINED IN EXPRESSING DISMAY AT FRENCH POSITION. FRG REP SAID HE WAS DISAPPOINTED THAT FRENCH WERE UNABLE TAKE INTO ACCOUNT POINTS (I.E. TREATMENT OF FRONTIERS) WHICH WERE OF PARAMOUNT CONCERN FOR BONN. ITALIAN REP ARGUED THAT DEMONSTRATION OF "WESTERN PLURALISM" AT GENEVA WHICH SEEMED ACCEPTABLE TO FRENCH WOULD BE DISASTROUS FOR WEST AND WOULD ENSURE THAT WEST WOULD BE UNABLE TO OBTAIN INCLUSION OF POINTS OF BASIC INTEREST. U.S. REP SUPPORTED COMMENTS OF OTHER DELS AND EXPRESSED HOPE THAT FRENCH WOULD ACCEPT CHANGES PROPOSED BY ALLIES. HE STRESSED THAT ALLIES NEEDED AGREED TEXT WHICH COULD BE TABLED EARLY IN GENEVA NEGOTIATIONS IN ORDER AVOID BEING OBLIGED WORK ON BASIS UNACCEPTABLE SOVIET DRAFT. (COMMENT: CANADIAN REP NOTED THAT ON TWO POINTS OF GREATEST INTEREST TO OTTAWA, I.E. EUROPE-NORTH AMERICA RELATIONSHIP AND SELF-DETERMINATION, SOVIET DRAFT WAS PREFERABLE TO FRENCH. END COMMENT.) U.S. REP ALSO RECALLED THAT IN AGREEING TO USE FRENCH DRAFT AS BASIS FOR WORK WE HAD NOT ABANDONED NATO DRAFT AND POINTED OUT THAT FRENCH DRAFT CONTAINED JUST AS MANY BRACKETS AS NATO DRAFT. IN CONCLUSION, U.S. REP NOTED THAT OUR SUCCESSES IN HELSINKI WERE DUE TO LARGE MEASURE TO COHESION OF ALLIED DELS AND SAID IT WOULD BE VERY DANGEROUS
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IF OTHER NATO DELS IN GENEVA WOULD FEEL OBLIGED PROPOSE AMENDMENTS IN FRENCH TEXT.

5. IN ENSUING DISCUSSION, FRENCH REP TOOK POSITION THAT POINTS OF DIFFERENCE WERE QUITE SMALL AND THAT FEW OF CHANGES PROPOSED BY ALLIES RELATED TO POINTS OF SUBSTANCE. THIS POSITION WAS REJECTED BY OTHER DELS, AND COMMITTEE AGREED HOLD FURTHER MEETING SEPTEMBER 6.

6. COMMENT: FRENCH PERFORMANCE ON PRINCIPLES DRAFT IS PUZZLING, AND SEVERAL DELS REMARKED PRIVATELY TO US THAT THEY FOUND FRENCH ACTION IN CIRCULATING TEXT WITH ONLY FOUR MINOR REVISIONS AFTER FULL MONTH OF SPC DISCUSSIONS INSULTING AND DERISORY. NEXT

STEP WILL BE UP TO PARIS, AND WE BELIEVE THAT OTHER MEMBERS OF
EC-9 ARE PROBABLY IN BEST POSITION INFLUENCE FRENCH. ONE POSSIBLE
TACTIC WHICH OCCURS TO US WOULD BE TO ANNOUNCE AT SEPTEMBER 6
MEETING THAT, ASSUMING FRENCH DID NOT INTEND MAKE CHANGES DESIRED
BY ALLIES, WE RESERVED RIGHT TO TABLE NATO DRAFT AT GENEVA.
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